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Trading Sovereignty and Labour: The Consular Network of Nineteenth-Century Hawai'i

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ABSTRACT

This article offers the first sustained inquiry into the consular system of nineteenth-century Hawai'i, which operated at a global level during the second half of the nineteenth century prior to its dissolution in 1900, two years after US annexation. Like minor Latin American states in the nineteenth century, the Hawaiian state exerted a degree of self-determination through appeals to inclusion within Christendom and Western Civilization, and had a consular body made up mainly of transnational British, German and American actors. Drawing upon extensive archival research, this article indicates the pivotal role of the Hawaiian consular system in facilitating the migration of over 100,000 contract labourers to the islands during the late nineteenth century in shifting governmental formations. Complementing scholarship on the efforts of indigenous elites to defend Hawai'i's sovereignty in the late nineteenth century, this article pays close attention to the role of non-national consuls and contract labour migrations in patterns of asymmetrical commercial globalisation, lending new perspectives to the international history of minor and extra-European states in the Age of Empire.

KEYWORDS

Immigration; globalisation; consuls; Hawai'i; extra-European state building

1. Introduction

Scholars of the international and diplomatic history of the nineteenth century are familiar with what might be termed the Hawaiian footnote. It is often remarked that the first indigenous non-European state to be accorded full rights of Westphalian sovereignty lay not in Asia or Africa, but in Polynesia, when Britain and France concluded treaties with the Kingdom of Hawai'i in 1846. Scholars of Asian international history are also acquainted with the detail that the first government to abandon rights of extraterritoriality in Japan was the resident American-dominated Provisional Government of Hawai'i in 1894.¹ Yet remarkably little has been written about the practices, institutions and personnel associated with Hawai'i's unique place in the global state system on international and diplomatic levels during the second half of the nineteenth century. Scholars of the international and diplomatic history of Hawai'i have focused mainly on the struggles for the recognition of Hawaiian sovereignty in the mid-nineteenth century, competing imperial intrigues between Great Britain, France, the US and Japan, and the controversies surrounding the dramatic fall of the monarchy in 1893 due to a coup dominated by resident Americans, followed by US annexation in 1898.² More recent scholarship, informed by an

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emphasis on Hawaiian-language sources, has underlined the agency of Native Hawaiian ruling elites in fashioning international recognition of Hawaiian independence through a negotiation of Native ruling structures and epistemologies with Western norms of statecraft and formal conversion to Christianity.³ Yet few have examined the institutional arrangements and personal networks by which nineteenth-century Hawai'i exerted a degree of sovereignty on the international stage in line with those of other minor self-styled Christian nations situated in asymmetric relations with major Western powers and host to economically dominant Western and creole elites, such as the small Latin American republics.⁴ This is a task that requires not only a more precise definition of the scope of international agency the Hawaiian state exerted during independence, but also further consideration of the various ends to which Hawaiian sovereignty was put.

As a contribution to this endeavour, this article examines the role of the Hawaiian state's global consular system in managing mass migration to the islands. Scholarship on the political history of Hawai'i has recognised that by 1890, a diplomatic corps of nearly 100 formally commissioned Hawaiian ministers, *chargés d'affaires*, consul generals, consuls and vice consuls represented Hawai'i at major capitals and ports on all six populated continents. However, the range of impulses that drove the development of such a large system for such a small state, with a population of only 57,985 in 1878, has only been cursorily explored. Hawai'i's global consular system evidenced its integration into an emerging international system of inter-state relations, but it would be anachronistic to assume that the consular system developed such wide contours solely to promote the recognition of the state's sovereignty. Rather, as recently synthesised by Ferry de Goey, the appointment of resident consuls accelerated during the long nineteenth century on a case-by-case, as-needed basis, with states seeking to protect specific trading interests and national merchant communities in the expanding range of sites encompassed in global trade relations.⁵ During the 1870s and 1880s, it was the pursuit of migrants that led to the appointment of over half a dozen Hawaiian consuls in new sites across the world, from the Marshall Islands in the Pacific to the Azorean Islands in the Atlantic. By indicating how the intersecting commitments of the Hawaiian state and an emerging plantation complex to sponsored migration drove the expansion of the Hawaiian consular system, I seek to complement Kate Boehme, Peter Mitchell and Alan Lester's recent work on the nexus between state and mercantile actors in indentured labour migration in the post-emancipation British imperial context.⁶

One of the most complicated international issues faced by the Hawaiian state during independence was how to secure sponsored migrants, variously envisioned as immigrants or contract labourers, in a world defined by the accelerating global partition of territory among a handful of major Western powers (plus Japan) and the development of international norms governing international mobility, particularly that of putative imperial subjects. During the final quarter of the nineteenth century, the Kingdom of Hawai'i embarked on an ambitious and expensive sponsored migration programme that demographically transformed the island chain. Driven by an intersection between local planter interest in a larger labouring force, political opposition to on-going Chinese immigration, and *Hōoulu Lāhui*, a populationist discourse of national revival championed by King Kalākaua during the 1870s and 1880s, sponsored immigration was perceived by a range of elite actors as a doubly economic and political solution to the tragic decline of the Native Hawaiian population in the aftermath of diseases introduced after first Western contact. Chinese migrants had arrived to Hawai'i gradually over the second half of the nineteenth century largely without state intervention, numbering around 46,000 in total, but anxieties of yellow peril, putatively based on the imbalanced gender ratio of these non-sponsored migrants, led to the development of a populationist immigration policy initiated by specific intergovernmental agreements and underwritten by extensive state subsidies. To implement this endeavour, new consuls, all of German, British or American origin, were appointed in various world sites to direct recruitment efforts, manage transportation and maintain relations with local governments.

Between 1876 and 1890, the Legislative Assembly of the Kingdom of Hawai'i apportioned over \$1 million to subsidise the transportation of contract labourers and their families from five

locations: the so-called South Sea Islands (Micronesia and the New Hebrides), Portugal (mainly the Atlantic islands of Madeira and the Azores), Norway, Germany and Japan. These contracts, envisioned with permanent settlement in mind, did not include return passage, with the exception of the Pacific islanders. Japanese migration, begun in earnest in 1886, was ultimately the most demographically significant, with over 60,000 Japanese migrating to the islands on contracts of government indenture before the abolition of the Hawaiian consular system in 1900. Smaller numbers came from Portugal from 1879 (11,714 prior to 1900), the 'South Seas' from 1879 (ca. 2,600), Norway from 1880 (ca. 600) and Germany from 1881 (ca. 1,300). Yet even these smaller movements were demographically significant. By 1890, under half of the total tabulated population of 89,990 was identified as Native Hawaiians. The process, modes and networks through which these migrants were recruited varied, but in all cases locally appointed Hawaiian consuls played a central role. For the European and Pacific islands migrations, the Hawaiian consuls were German and British businessmen who directly carried out the contracting of labourers and their transshipment to Hawai'i via their local contacts and business partners.⁷ In the case of Japan, the business of migration was run through enterprises controlled by local nationals, in collaboration with the formal supervision of Hawaiian consuls, who were US nationals with no previous connection to Hawai'i.

The intimate connection between the Hawaiian consular system and nineteenth-century labour migration from Asia, Europe and the Pacific has likewise not received extended reflection in the well-developed literature on immigration to Hawai'i. The scant attention that has been paid has focused on consuls and diplomats in the service of the United States.⁸ Classic studies by American historians and social scientists Katharine Coman, Romanzo Adams and Ralph Kuykendall in the early twentieth century emphasised the agency of resident American missionaries, traders and planters in 'moderating' the European colonial practice of indentured labour, offering relatively 'generous' provisions.⁹ The narrative of benign indenture has been subject to exhaustive critique by historians of labour including Ronald Takaki, Edward Beechert and Moon-Kie Jung, but the assumption of American stewardship and ascendancy has persisted.¹⁰ A study of the obscure, cosmopolitan and often neglected state and non-state actors involved in the genesis and administration of Hawai'i's system of contract labour, however, reveals new insights for assessing the key question of the history of colonialism in Hawai'i. Consuls for the Hawaiian state acted as nodes in the contemporary global circulation of labour, helping the Hawaiian state locally implement a mobility regime borne from the transfer of legal practices in European colonial contexts in the Caribbean and Indian Oceans, and politically justified in Hawai'i by Native Hawaiian ruling elites who envisioned mass immigration as a populationist policy, rather than something strictly economic.

Hawai'i's migration-consular nexus, I suggest, indicates the limits of labelling nineteenth-century Hawai'i as a site of specifically *American* proto-colonialism. In terms of both diplomatic personnel as well as labour migration, the Kingdom of Hawai'i and its successor states relied heavily upon British colonial administrative practices and British and German merchant networks. Further, Noelani Arista has recently reframed the dimensions of political encounter between ruling Hawaiian elites and resident foreigners during the early nineteenth century, emphasising the complexity of the written codification of Hawaiian oral law in view of maintaining chiefly rule in a context of rising global trade and Western incursion in the islands.¹¹ This observation provides an important impulse for reconsidering how we frame Hawai'i and other indigenous states' integration into an emerging asymmetrical international system during the long nineteenth century. While Sally Engle Merry described the transplanting of a legal-political system based on Anglo-American law in nineteenth-century Hawai'i as definitive of the islands' colonisation on an American model, Emily Conroy-Krutz productively de-nationalised this account, underlining the extent to which American actors in the early nineteenth century were enmeshed within British and global networks and saw themselves as joint members of 'Anglo-American civilization'.¹²

Building upon both Arista and Conroy-Krutz's observations, I argue that we need a non-anachronistic history of nineteenth-century Hawai'i that examines how transnational, local and indigenous actors navigated intersecting layers of asymmetric commercial globalisation through practices of international networking. More than a mere footnote, the story of the Hawaiian consular system is an instructive site to consider the globalisation of the Western diplomatic order over the course of the nineteenth century, and, in the case of Pacific locations, the interrelationship between indigenous elites and mobile mercantile actors in this phenomenon. Below, I first sketch a history of the Hawaiian consulate system from its creation in the 1840s until its dissolution in 1900, due to the absence of such an account in the existing literature on the Hawaiian state. I then offer a typology of the individuals who served as Hawaiian diplomats and consuls, prior to turning to the institutional and international challenge of promoting global labour migration to Hawai'i from the 1860s until the end of the nineteenth century. By examining the identities and activities of the individuals appointed as Hawaiian consuls over the nineteenth century, we arrive at a deeper reflection upon the intersection of rivalry and co-operation between various transnational Western actors in the nineteenth-century Pacific, and the way indigenous elites interacted with them.

2. Foreign representation: identities of Hawaiian consuls

The initiation of the Kingdom of Hawai'i's sponsored contract labour migration programme coincided with a major period of expansion in the global presence of the Hawaiian consular body. The history of the Hawaiian consular system can be divided into three general periods. From the 1840s until 1874, consuls were placed at major ports along trans-Pacific shipping routes as well as the capitals of major Western powers, including London, Paris and New York. A second period occurred during the nationalist-statist reign of King Kalākaua, lasting from 1874 until the restriction of Kalākaua's influence in 1887, when he signed what has become known as the Bayonet Constitution under threat of a resident foreigner-led coup. These thirteen years witnessed a tripling of the consular body, featuring (i) a multiplication of consular positions within the US and the British Empire, (ii) the creation of significant consular presences in southern Europe and small Latin American states to promote global recognition of the Hawaiian state, and (iii) the initiation and administration of indentured labour flows in the late 1870s into the 1880s (Portugal, Micronesia and the New Hebrides, Germany, Norway and Japan). While most of the second category was eliminated within a year after the Bayonet Constitution, most of the expansions in the first and third categories were retained. The final period, following the Bayonet Constitution until the dissolution of the consular system in 1900, was generally one of stagnation. Besides the replacement of a few prominent consuls who sided with the monarchy in 1893, the great majority of consuls remained in place until the end of the century. Vacancies outside major trade-based positions went unfilled, though new appointments were made at sites where specific material needs for the planter oligarchy existed, namely labour and fertiliser. The consular presence at sites of major contract labour flows, namely Japan and Portugal, continued to expand during this time period.

Prior to the 1840s, the Kingdom of Hawai'i had no formal system of representation abroad, though King Kamehameha II and his retinue were formally received in Rio de Janeiro and London in 1824.¹³ Growing incursions from Western powers, above all France, Britain and the US, led ruling elites to creatively engage with resident Britons and Americans to implement legal and administrative arrangements that not only secured their internal political ascendancy but which were also cognizable in Western state theory as constitutive of national sovereignty. Formal mechanisms for the administration of the Hawaiian state, including a department of foreign affairs and the appointment of local consuls, were drawn up in 1845–1846 by John Ricord, an itinerant American lawyer named the first Attorney General of Hawai'i. Ricord had former

experience in constitutional translation in the Republic of Texas, where he reconciled Spanish-Mexican civil law principles of property ownership with those of Anglo-American common law.¹⁴ After departing Hawai'i in 1846, Ricord served as US Vice Consul in Tahiti, and later unsuccessfully tried to market his services to indigenous leaders in Siam and Cambodia.¹⁵ Though admitting that his new government code for the Kingdom of Hawai'i could hardly be perfect as he prepared it 'unaided by a law library', it would constitute the foundation of governmental practice in Hawai'i until the end of the nineteenth century.¹⁶ A Department of Foreign Relations was created, headed by the Minister of Foreign Relations, and this Minister was likewise named head of a newly created Foreign Agency. The minister was empowered under direction of the monarch to 'accredit Hawaiian diplomatic agents, not representative in capacity by the law of nations, to be resident or special abroad' and likewise could 'commission consuls of the Hawaiian Islands, to reside at the ports of foreign nations for commercial purposes' and issue circulars to inform these consuls of their duties, including 'the fees and perquisites to be by them received, and to give them general standing instructions'. Section six granted all 'duly accredited' Hawaiian ministers and consuls the power to issue travel passports (effectively entry visas) to local nationals for travel to Hawai'i.¹⁷

The first individual to take up the position of Minister of Foreign Relations was Robert Crichton Wyllie (1798–1865), a mobile Scottish physician and businessman who would serve in this capacity for two decades. Wyllie originally came to the islands in 1844 as an assistant to William Miller, the newly assigned British Consul for the Easter Pacific, after stints as a businessman in Chile and India in the 1820s–1830s and London and Mexico in the 1840s. After a year as Acting British Consul in Honolulu as well as Vice Consul for Chile, Wyllie formally entered the services of King Kamehameha III on 26 March 1845, with appointments as Minister of Foreign Affairs and Secretary of War, as well as a seat in the house of nobles.¹⁸ Wyllie was a central personality in the developing Hawaiian state until his death in 1865, and the consular system that emerged up to that time was staffed largely via his world-encompassing personal network of British merchants, many of whom he had met personally during his prior residence in Latin American, Asia and London. His commitment to Hawaiian independence was defined by a combination of professional and personal motives. He oversaw the appointment of German physician and botanist Wilhelm Hillebrand as the Kingdom's first Immigration Commissioner in 1865, and in indirect communication to the latter requested that '200 labourers, including their wives and children' be recruited from China to staff his ultimately unsuccessful sugar plantation in Princesville, Kaua'i.¹⁹

The occasional commissioning of Hawaiian diplomatic agents was the main mechanism for treaty discussions by the Hawaiian state throughout the nineteenth century. Up until 1870, these commissions were mainly to the US and to Europe. Afterwards, when the question of immigration became of central concern for the Hawaiian state, they became more global in character, and like Hillebrand's commission, were often charged specifically with the issue of immigration. US-born missionary William Richards and Native Hawaiian *ali'i* (noble) Timoteo Ha'alilio served as special envoys to the US and France during an independence crisis in 1842, and the Scotsman George Simpson, Governor in Chief of the Hudson Bay Company (which had held a post in Honolulu from 1834), accepted occasional commissions handled via Wyllie to represent Hawai'i with European governments during the late 1840s.²⁰ US-born Hawaiian Chief Justice William Little Lee received an appointment as envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to the US, Britain, France and Russia in 1855. One of Wyllie's contacts, the English writer, political economist and colonial administrator John Bowring, who had just returned to Britain after serving as Governor of Hong Kong and the British Plenipotentiary to China, was appointed as envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to both the US and Europe in 1859.²¹ Bowring's domain was restricted to Europe in 1863 after the appointment of another American-born Hawaiian Chief Justice, Elisha Hunt Allen, as envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to

the US. Bowring would serve in this capacity until Wyllie's death in 1865 and secured treaties with Belgium, the Netherlands, Switzerland, Italy and Spain during this time.²²

The regular publication of full lists of the Hawaiian diplomatic core in Hawaiian- and English-language newspapers and almanacs from 1870 until the end of the century permits a study of personnel changes and shifting geographic foci during the last three decades of Hawaiian independence. This is not the easiest task as many consuls left little documentary trail about their personal lives, though genealogical studies can be useful for identifying more obscure personages. The nationalities of appointed consuls varied most tightly according to region. All, with one exception, were of American or European descent. No Native Hawaiian was ever appointed as an ordinary consul in the history of the system, though several prominent Native Hawaiian elites, such as Curtis Pi'ehu I'aukea and John Makini Kapena, travelled abroad during the 1880s on temporary commissions in decision-making capacities and recommended the appointment of individuals as Hawaiian consuls in sites then lacking them. The majority of consular appointees were British, with a minority of other Europeans and Americans. The sole non-Westerner to serve as an ordinary consul was Tadamichi Tekechi, who served as Vice Consul in Yokohama from 1894 to 1896 during the Republic, when contract labour migrations to Hawai'i accelerated. He was related by marriage to the American-descended Hawaiian minister resident in Japan, Robert W. Irwin.

Within the United States, the British Empire and Northern and Central Europe, Hawaiian consuls were almost always local nationals. Elsewhere, the nationality of consuls usually matched ascendant foreign business communities. Hawaiian consuls in Latin America and Hong Kong were usually British; consuls in Japan and the Philippines were usually Americans. German and Belgian merchants were also active as Hawaiian consuls in sites beyond Europe. Portugal, explored at length below, is a particularly interesting case. The first consuls, appointed in the 1870s and early 1880s with the initiation of contract labour migration from Madeira and the Azores, tended to be resident British and Irish merchants. These were replaced in the 1890s with Portuguese counterparts. Communication between the Department of Foreign Affairs in Honolulu and the various consuls was conducted almost exclusively in English throughout the life of the system.

Hawai'i was something of an exception to nineteenth-century norms of consular and diplomatic practice, though became more exceptional as the century wore on. The appointment of non-nationals as consuls became less common over the century due to growing nationalism.²³ By the early twentieth century, Ernest Satow claimed that 'it is seldom that the national of a state is employed as the envoy of a foreign state in his own country', with France and Britain refusing to acknowledge such appointments for over a century. To prove his point, Satow deployed his own Hawaiian footnotes, pointing to two difficulties faced by the Kingdom with having its chosen representatives recognised. He first noted the consistent efforts of Anglican Rev. Manley Hopkins, whose connection with the islands began with a regalist mission to found a state church on lines of the Church of England for the Hawaiian monarchy, to be recognised in various capacities as the Hawaiian representative in Britain from 1859 onwards. The British Foreign Office persistently refused approval on grounds of his 'being a British subject'. Satow then proceeded to discuss the struggles of Abraham Hoffnung to be accredited as Hawaiian *chargé d'affaires* in London in the mid-1880s. A Polish Jew who had naturalised as a British citizen in his youth, his company owned and managed most of the vessels used in the Portuguese migration to Hawai'i prior to his consular appointment. The Foreign Office only accepted his nomination in 1886 after he had travelled to Hawai'i and naturalised as a Hawaiian citizen, thereby forfeiting his British citizenship. Satow continued that Hoffnung's son, Samuel Hoffnung, did the same so as to serve as '*chargé d'affaires ad interim*'. Wrapping up this discussion, Satow suggested that Hawai'i's practice of hiring foreign national representatives was not entirely unusual in the nineteenth-century Asia-Pacific, indicating how the Japanese government had

hired Europeans, most prominently as ‘secretaries’ to serve at their early legations in Europe in the 1870s, and how the Chinese had continued this practice until the end of the century.²⁴

As Satow observed, the case of Hawaiian consulates and legations abroad can be usefully contrasted to those of other states beyond Europe and North America. Japan and Siam took to having their European legations headed by Western-educated indigenous elites by the 1880s, whose mastery of the cultural practices of European diplomacy rendered the need for hired Western go-betweens superfluous.²⁵ With this end in mind, and roughly simultaneous to sponsored immigration, the Hawaiian state engaged in a systematic programme of educating Native Hawaiian elite children abroad from 1880 to 1887, with local consuls charged as their guardians. Approximately, \$100,000 was invested in this programme during the decade by the Hawaiian state, funded through apportions made by the Hawaiian legislative assembly. In London, long-serving consul Manley Hopkins served as the intermediary for paying the fees and supervising the education of Joseph A. Kāmau’oha, Matthew Makalua and Abraham Charles Pi’ianaia in Britain, and also monitored apprenticeships for John Lovell, Hugo Kawelo and Henry Kapena. In Italy, the intermediary for Robert William Wilcox and Robert Napu’uako Boyd was in the first instance the controversial Italian adventurer Celso Caesar Moreno, replaced in 1881 with his successor as Hawaiian Consul General at Naples, Michael Cerulli.²⁶ These consuls corresponded with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs with regular updates on the scholars’ progress as well as submitting schedules of expenses. Most of the scholars returned to Hawai’i once funding was terminated after the Bayonet Constitution, though Matthew Makalua lived the rest of his life in England, where he practiced medicine. While scholars of Hawaiian history have rarely made the connection, this programme was much in sync with those undertaken by other extra-European states. For instance, the first resident diplomats of both Persia and Japan were charged with caring for students already resident in Europe. The difference between Hawai’i’s programme and those of other states was one of scale and timing. In 1871, there were already 107 Japanese students studying in Britain alone.²⁷ In Hawai’i, the programme would be terminated after the coup of 1887, before it could bear the envisioned fruit.

Two of the longest serving figures in the Hawaiian consular service were Britons based in Peru and Chile, the two major Latin American states connected with Hawaiian-bound merchant marine lines. David Thomas (1818–1897), a Scottish banker born in Glasgow, served as Hawaiian chargé d’affaires and consul general at Valparaíso from 1859 until his death in 1897.²⁸ It was far from exceptional that Thomas as a resident European represented Hawai’i in Chile. In 1866, for instance, resident Germans represented El Salvador (G. Rosemberg) and Guatemala (Philip Calmann), and British merchant J.H. Pearson was consul for Brazil.²⁹ Irish merchant Robert H. Beddy likewise served as Hawaiian chargé d’affaires and consul general at Lima from the time of his appointment before 1870 until his death in 1893. The profiles of both consuls were similar. Both Thomas and Beddy married locally born creole women and engaged in various business projects. Thomas was the relatively more successful of the two merchants, having set up the second street railway in Chile, opened in Valparaíso in 1863, and head of the eponymous Banco David Thomas from 1866 until its insolvency in 1877.³⁰ Beddy also tried his hand at the railroad trade but lost the bid to construct a railroad from Islay to Mejías as part of an 1864 competition by the Peruvian Congress.³¹

Hawaiian consuls tended to be merchants, but not exclusively. William C. Martin, the Hawaiian chargé d’affaires and consul general in Paris from the 1860s until 1883, was mainly engaged with scholarly pursuits. An active member in the Société de géographie de Paris, he authored an important French-language work on the islands.³² The Hawaiian consul general in Barcelona during the 1880s, Ricardo Monner Sans, was fascinated by small states, authoring a series of survey works in Spanish on Liberia, Transvaal and Hawai’i. However, such cases were outweighed by the appointment of persons of considerable financial power, such as Johann Heinrich Gossler III (1805–1879), first chargé d’affaires and consul general in Hamburg, who was the patriarch of a powerful Hanseatic family and head of Berenberg Bank. The appointment of

consuls also frequently followed from personal networks with governing elites established on site in Hawai'i during a period of residence there. For instance, the first Hawaiian consul in Denmark, Sven Hoffmeyer (1819–1878), appointed as Hawaiian consul in Copenhagen in 1863, had been a grocer in Helsingør before migrating to Hawai'i in 1847. During his fourteen-year residence, he held various local government positions, including postmaster of Lahaina, Maui in 1851, and acted as a commissioner merchant until his return to Denmark in 1861. Certain consuls even managed to take their positions with them as they moved elsewhere to pursue more lucrative business. For instance, Diederich Hermann Schmüll, first appointed as Hawaiian chargé d'affaires and consul general in Amsterdam in 1887, was appointed consul general at Pretoria after moving there in 1889. While in South Africa, he sought an appointment as the Austrian consul, in vain.³³ Upon returning to Amsterdam in 1891, he was reappointed to his previous position for the Hawaiian state, which had lain vacant during his absence. Generally, the Hawaiian consular body, regardless of location, was staffed by a cosmopolitan set of Westerners interlinked to Hawai'i in diverse ways.

3. Challenges of sovereignty and population

Persistent population decline, the growing labour demands of an emerging Western-dominated plantation complex in the islands, and the ascent of a populationist monarch led to the increasing prominence of immigration as a concern for the Hawaiian state during the 1870s. The twined imperatives of immigration and sovereignty defined the reign of King Kalākaua (1874–1891), who together with the American adventurer Walter Murray Gibson crafted an appeal for the migration of 'cognate' races who would assimilate with Native Hawaiians and strengthen the population basis of support for his reign and for the Kingdom. Prior to his reign, Kalākaua served as secretary for the Kingdom's newly founded Board of Immigration in 1865. By the 1870s, politicians and businessmen saw immigration as a solution to Hawai'i's declining numbers, judging as insufficient the persistent attempts undertaken since the 1840s to entice Native Hawaiian emigrants to return to the islands as well as to stimulate natural population increase through improved medical care. The legislature approved generous funding for political missions based on immigration treaty negotiations, as well as large subsidies for indentured migration. Personally scouting the best possible sources of immigration was the main justification offered for Kalākaua's famous world tour of 1881, and immigration also featured prominently in Curtis Pī'ehu l'aukea's (1855–1940) global mission of 1883–1884. l'aukea was charged not only with representing Hawai'i at the coronation of Alexander III of Russia and Queen Victoria's Gold Jubilee, but also with attempting to secure permission to initiate contract labour migration from British India, the Spanish Philippines and Japan.³⁴

A temporary opening for the profitable production of Hawaiian sugar had first been presented by supply disruptions during the American Civil War (1861–1865). Planters and administrators in Hawai'i, as in other emerging sugar locations beyond the British Empire, turned to China as an easy site to secure labour migrants, borne from over two decades' of Chinese overseas labour flows following the severe dislocations produced by the Opium War (1839–1842). Wilhelm Hillebrand, who had been resident in Hawai'i since 1850, scouted Chinese and Indian maritime ports in 1865 as the first of these immigration commissioners.³⁵ With financial support approved by the Hawaiian legislative assembly, he settled on China before even travelling to India and initiated the first systematic migration of labourers to Hawai'i on contracts of indenture. While in Hong Kong, Hillebrand consulted a list of contacts prepared for him by Minister of Foreign Affairs Wyllie, including Hawaiian Consul James Whitall, who was associated with the powerful British trading firm Jadine, Matheson & Co. After meeting, Whittall directed Hillebrand to a fellow German physician turned labour expert, Rev. Wilhelm Lobscheid (1822–1890), to organise the contracting of several hundred migrants to Hawai'i. Lobscheid had previously

conducted inquiries into the matter of Chinese migration to the Caribbean on behalf of the government of British Guiana in 1861–1862, and had provided labour recruitment services for the colonial governments of Suriname and Tahiti immediately prior to making Hillebrand's acquaintance.³⁶ Lobscheid was of particular assistance to Hillebrand in crafting the specific contracts of indenture used, basing these on models he had used for British Guiana, Suriname and Tahiti.³⁷ James Whittall, in his capacity as Hawaiian Consul in Hong Kong, would play a more active role in promoting another attempt at contract labour migration to Hawai'i in 1870, when he tried to impress upon John Gardener Austin, British Colonial Secretary of Hong Kong, that the terms of engagement were based upon 'liberal principles', and pointed to the 'flourishing circumstances of many who originally went there under contract as labourers' as testimony of the merits of the system.³⁸

These ventures of indenture notwithstanding, most Chinese immigrants to Hawai'i during the 1860s and 1870s migrated via alternative forms of debt bondage, including that often termed the 'credit-ticket system', wherein the costs of passage were owed to Chinese businessmen and traffickers, though most of the vessels used for transshipment were owned by Western firms. A steady flow of unsubsidised Chinese migrants during the late 1860s and early 1870s largely satisfied labour gaps in Hawai'i prior to the Reciprocity Treaty of 1875 with the United States. However, rising anti-Chinese sentiment, consistent with elsewhere in the Pacific Rim, led the Hawaiian state to assign its consuls in Hong Kong a unique duty. Rather than immigrant promotion, from the mid-1880s Hawaiian consuls in Hong Kong were charged with enforcing various instances of anti-Chinese restriction legislation.

Unlike other Pacific contexts, Chinese restriction in independent Hawai'i never excluded women; the legal justification of restriction was always premised on 'unnatural' gender ratios. Yet Hawaiian emigration, Chinese immigration and the lives lived in between created unique challenges for the British merchant-staffed Hong Kong consulate. Particularly towards the end of the century, several decades of Chinese migration to Hawai'i and intermarriage of Chinese labourers with Hawaiian women led to cases that complicated any easy implementation of migration restriction between China and Hawai'i. In 1889, the ministry informed Consul Keswick that Akana, also known as Ah Chung, aged 18 and resident in Hong Kong, was to be given a Hawaiian passport, as his Native Hawaiian mother had furnished evidence of his birth at Wailuku, Maui on 7 August 1872 along with a photo. Having moved to China aged 8, he was no longer able to speak 'either English or Hawaiian'.³⁹ Additionally, several cases concerned the rights of Hawaiian women resident in China who were married to Chinese husbands. In 1888, Ho'opio C. Atong, living with her Chinese husband in Macau, requested assistance from the consul in having Macanese authorities place a restraining order against her brother-in-law.⁴⁰

Although the persistent inefficacy of the legislation and the consular passport system was much decried in Hawai'i, its Hong Kong consuls never faced any consequences for this. Representatives of Jardine, Matheson & Co. acted as Hawai'i Consul Generals in Hong Kong throughout the second half of the nineteenth century without interruption. Joseph Jardine, nephew of the founder of the firm, had first acted informally as Hawaiian consul in Hong Kong as early as 1849.⁴¹ Five other members of the firm, all of British descent, would follow him: James Whittall, William Keswick, Francis Bulkeley Johnson, James Johnston Keswick and John Bell Irving. Two of the longest serving, William and James Johnstone Keswick, were brothers. The profiles of each of these businessmen were very similar, and nearly all served at various points on the Legislative Council of Hong Kong. Additionally, William Keswick served as the Danish Consul General for Hong Kong in the 1880s.

Aside from issues of immigration, the responsibilities of Hawaiian consuls in Hong Kong, as elsewhere, lay in facilitating business and shipping relations. Hawaiian consuls were empowered to assist visiting Hawaiian citizens in registering their ship under the Hawaiian flag, of which approximately 700 were over the course of the nineteenth century.⁴² Hawaiian consuls were likewise charged with providing consular services to citizens living abroad, particularly legal consul

and relief in cases of destitution. Emigration had been an on-going concern for the Hawaiian state since the mid-nineteenth century, and its deterrence was a government focus prior to the turn to promoting immigration after the mid-1860s. The majority of early emigrants were men who engaged themselves with whaling or trading ships, or went on missionary expeditions to other Pacific Islands.⁴³ In 1893, the royalist promoter of the Portuguese community in Hawai'i, Auguste Marques, estimated that there were over 1,300 Native Hawaiians settled across the Pacific Rim, present in Japan, China, Australia, New Zealand, British Columbia, Oregon and California, and with nearly a third in Chile and Peru.⁴⁴ The three Hawaiian consuls resident in British Columbia, at Victoria, Port Townsend and Vancouver dealt occasionally with issues pertaining to the large emigrant population of Native Hawaiians.⁴⁵ For instance, the consul at Victoria acted as intermediary for remittances by William Haumea, long resident at Burgoyne Bay, Salt Spring Island, British Columbia, for his daughter Mere Anna Keli'ipalapala of Hamakua, Hawai'i, in 1895.⁴⁶

4. Sponsored migration and the labour-consular nexus, 1875–1900

Hawaiian consular appointments were normally unsalaried, but appointments at sites of new labour recruitment constituted an important exception to this general rule. A comparison between the case of the legation in Spain, headed by Ricardo Monner Sans from 1883 to 1888, and the establishment of the Hawaiian consulate in Madeira during the initiation of contract labour flows in the late 1870s is exemplary. Irish-born merchant John Hutchison was awarded a salary of \$500 per annum commencing from the date of his commission in 1878 as Hawaiian Consul at Funchal, Madeira, paid out in pound sterling at prevailing exchange rates via the London office of the first chartered bank in Hawai'i, Bishop & Co., which had been founded in Honolulu in 1858 by the prominent American-born businessman and politician Charles Reed Bishop.⁴⁷ In November 1881, Hawaiian Foreign Minister William Lowthian Green, of British origin, informed Hutchison that the salary would cease as the 'special purpose' of initiating 'emigration from Madeira to these Islands' was completed. He was invited to continue to serve as consul 'without salary as is the usual custom', or else return his commission.⁴⁸ Hutchison chose to continue on without salary, succeeded upon his death in 1888 by his son-in-law Henry Hempel.⁴⁹

Curtis P'iehu l'aukea appointed Ricardo Monner Sans as Hawaiian Consul General for Spain during his state visit of 1883, and Sans served in this capacity until his departure for South America in 1888.⁵⁰ In 1884, Walter Murray Gibson, as Minister of Foreign Affairs informed him that 'the only personal emolument provided for Consuls consists of fees for certifying invoices, etc., referred to in the printed instructions'.⁵¹ Two years later, however, at the height of Gibson and Kalākaua's attempt to assert an active Hawaiian foreign policy in light of Western annexations of various Polynesian nations in the mid-1880s, \$500 per annum was allocated to the legation.⁵² Barely a year later, in the aftermath of the Bayonet Constitution, the ministry informed Sans of 'a policy of retrenchment', with the goal to 'reduce, rather than enlarge the number of Hawaiian Diplomatic or Consular Agents abroad', and the cessation of the annual allowance for the legation.⁵³ Later, in 1893, the acting Foreign Minister of the Provisional Government, the American-born lawyer Francis March Hatch, reiterated that the policy since 1887 had been not even to cover postage expenses, describing the consular appointments to be effectively voluntary.⁵⁴

Specially commissioned representatives of the Hawaiian government recommended the appointment of individuals as local consuls after making their personal acquaintance while on site to initiate contract labour flows during the 1870s. In the case of the Portuguese migration, Wilhelm Hillebrand, the German physician who had briefly initiated contract labour migration from China in 1865, returned to the services of the Board of Immigration in 1878, some years after his return to Germany, to scout out possibilities on the Portuguese island of Madeira. Debate in Hawai'i in settler colonial organs about the preferred sources of migrant labour during

the 1870s had often pointed out that Madeira had provided the most significant supply of European indentured labourers in the post-slavery era, having first been recruited by officials of the government of British Guiana during the early 1830s.⁵⁵ On-site and in competition with labour recruiters for both Guiana and Brazil, Hillebrand made the acquaintance of John Hutchison, a resident Irish merchant connected with the Madeira wine trade, and recommended his appointment as Hawaiian consul on Madeira, which took effect on 25 October 1878.⁵⁶ With an ambiguous degree of consent from the local government, the two distributed pamphlets among the population and enlisted a first cohort of recruits. Prior to serving as Hawaiian consul at Madeira, John Hutchison had already served as US Vice Consul on the island for nearly a decade, having been first appointed in this capacity on 24 May 1869.⁵⁷ Although Thomas Reid, US Consul at Funchal, informed the Department of State in 1878 that Hutchison was 'not a citizen of the United States', he received further re-appointments with the US government well into the 1880s, even being named as Deputy US Consul on the island in 1884.⁵⁸

When confronting difficulties with Madeiran authorities, Hillebrand and Hutchison appealed for assistance from Reid and Benjamin Moran, US Minister in Lisbon, to authenticate documents. The latter formally rejected this request on grounds that he could not endorse 'in the name of my Government a scheme of emigration from and into a foreign country, about the merits of which I can of course know nothing'.⁵⁹ In classified correspondence with William M. Evarts, US Secretary of State, Moran confided that 'I am not altogether satisfied that his [Hillebrand's] scheme is not one for introducing European labour into the Hawaiian Islands and not a plan for free Emigration'.⁶⁰ Within a couple months, however, difficulties were resolved and the first group of Madeiran emigrants were brought to Hawai'i aboard the German bark *Priscilla*, which had been chartered by Hawai'i-based Hackfeld & Co., headed by powerful German planter Heinrich Hackfeld. Consul Hutchison's son, Ernest Hutchison, ventured to Hawai'i aboard this ship, and after business success on the islands, was sent to the Azores eighteen years later, in 1894, on commission of the Republic to assist in reinitiating migrant flows.⁶¹ The firm of Abraham Hoffnung, later Hawaiian chargé d'affaires and consul general in London, handled all subsequent shipments of indentured labourers from the Portuguese islands after 1878.

After Hutchison's death on 3 December 1889, his fellow resident foreigner son-in-law, Henry Hempel, succeeded him as Hawaiian Consul for Madeira.⁶² In the early 1890s, there was a shift away from using British merchants as consuls, with Portuguese residents chosen in their place. Richard Seeman, appointed in 1881 as the consul on São Miguel in the Azores, resigned in 1891 after migrating to Winnipeg, replaced by A. da S. Moreira, who had previously worked with Seeman at the office. Hawai'i's consul in Madeira also switched to a Portuguese national in 1891, with Francisco Rodriguez succeeding Henry Hempel in July 1891. E. de Souza Drummond at Funchal, Venezuelan Consul at Madeira, applied to serve succeed Rodriguez in 1897, though was rejected in place of a reappointment of Henry Hempel.⁶³

The Hawai'i-based German firm that shipped the first group of Madeirans to Hawai'i was also closely connected with indentured migrant flows from Germany and Norway in the early 1880s. Hackfeld & Co. won the permission of the Hawaiian state Board of Immigration to contract labourers from Germany along the same conditions as those from Portugal in November 1880, bringing 1,153 immigrants, mainly from nearby Bremen, aboard three ships from 1881 to 1882 (two of these, the *Iolani* and the *Ceder*, were Hawaiian-registered ships owned by the firm). After the fall of the monarchy, the firm received government funds to send in two additional ships of contract labourers to the islands in 1897.⁶⁴ The under-researched German contract labour migration to Hawai'i was defined by a high degree of vertical integration. Paul Isenberg, a German planter on Kaua'i, was appointed as the Hawaiian Board of Immigration's agent in Germany in the early 1880s, and while there also managed Hackfeld & Co.'s Bremen office. Another member of the firm, Carl Pflüger, had served as Russia's vice consul in Hawai'i from 1862 to 1872, until returning to Bremen in 1874, at which point he sold his interests at Koloa Plantation, Kaua'i to Isenberg. Once in Hamburg, he joined with Hackfeld to found the European branch of Hackfeld's firm and

served as the Hawaiian chargé d'affaires and consul general in Germany from 1875 until his death in 1883. Hackfeld's firm additionally had its hands in the business of the indentured migration of 613 individuals (mainly Norwegian though with a minority of Swedes) from Drammen, Norway between 1880 and 1881, though in a less direct fashion. Henrik Christian L'Orange, a Norwegian captain turned planter in the islands, received a commission by the Board of Immigration to contract migrants on the model of Portugal, and went there personally to oversee the enterprise. Hackfeld & Co. provided assistance, though did not own the ships used.⁶⁵

The initiation of the migration stream of so-called South Sea Islanders during the late 1870s also occurred closely in sync with that from Madeira. The two present intriguing similarities in terms of the contractual terms, the proportion of women and children brought to Hawai'i and the use of non-native resident merchants as consuls and on-the-ground migration agents. The model contract drafted for Madeiran immigrants in November 1877 stipulated a term of '36 months of 26 working days each – ten hours being counted to the day'. Each 'able bodied male' would receive earnings of \$10 in US gold or silver per month, plus be provided with daily rations, suitable lodging, garden ground, medical attendance and medicine.⁶⁶ Children were guaranteed schooling. Contracts for Pacific islanders were similar in terms of duration and benefits, but wages were notably lower, ranging from \$4 to \$6 per month per female worker and \$5–\$7 per month per male worker. However, South Sea islanders were guaranteed the right to free return passage upon the completion of the contract.⁶⁷ A common feature between the Portuguese, Pacific islander, German and Norwegian migrations was the high proportion of underage migrants. Nearly half of the passengers aboard the ships from Madeira and the Azores were children under the age of 18 (by 1888, 5,145 out of 11,057).

The Hawaiian government's pursuit of immigration from the South Sea islands tightly intersected with German colonialism in the region and was handled via German intermediaries. In June 1879, Hawaiian government agent Henry Freeman was sent to the Marshall Islands to establish a local immigration depot on the atoll of Jaluit. He named German merchant Franz Hensheim, head of the local branch of Hensheim & Co., in charge. Franz Hensheim received a commission as commercial agent for the Kingdom of Hawai'i that year, adding this to his existing status as the consul for Germany.⁶⁸ Hensheim & Co. was intimately involved with nearly all aspects of the labour migration operation. The ships used by Hawaiian agents were leased from the company, and Hensheim representatives were in charge of providing food and shelter to waiting migrants at the depot.⁶⁹ The profit derived from these services likely exceeded the modest fees collected by the consulate, claimed at \$314.33 for 1880 and \$121.20 for 1881.⁷⁰ When Hensheim returned to Germany in 1881, he was replaced as Hawaiian commercial agent by Hermann Grösser, likewise attached to the firm, and a personal contact of both William Lowthian Green, the British-born Hawaiian Minister of Foreign Affairs, and Henry Alpheus Pierce Carter, the American mariner-descended Hawaiian Minister of the Interior.⁷¹ Upon returning to Germany, Franz authored a richly illustrated account of his experience in Micronesia and New Guinea. When discussing his years in Jaluit, he noted his close relationship with island King Kabua, and his doubts about the success of an American mission on the island following the replacement of two American missionaries as directors with Native Hawaiian teachers.⁷² The choice of Hensheim and his company to locally represent Hawaiian state immigration interests was strategic given their rapidly intensifying domination of local political and business life. Shortly after the conclusion of government-sponsored migration efforts in Micronesia in 1884, local King Kabua would agree to a German Protectorate on 13 October 1885 while on board the German gunboat *Nautilus* with the successor German consul, who was likewise manager of the Hensheim firm.⁷³ The choice of the company however entwined the Hawaiian government directly with blackbirding agents. In 1883, Grösser wrote Honolulu offering his company's services in recruiting labourers off of New Guinea, 'from where as I am informed by the brand office of my firm at Matupi (Blanche Bay, New Britain), members of vessels from Queensland, Fiji and Samoa are recruiting and in most cases with success'.⁷⁴

Unlike the other five sites of Kingdom-era labour migration to Hawai'i, Hawaiian consuls in Japan were almost all American, and mainly drew upon local national (Japanese) enterprises to carry out indentured emigration to Hawai'i. The first Hawaiian consular appointment in Japan was Eugene Van Reed, an American trader, arms dealer and travel agent who arrived in the country in 1859 at the age of 24. He secured an appointment as Hawaiian consul general in 1865, after already gaining experience as a clerk at the American consulate.⁷⁵ In 1868, on request from the Hawaiian Board of Immigration, Van Reed arranged for the contracting of 148 Japanese indentured labourers (the *gannenmono*). Similar to Lobscheid in Hong Kong, who managed contract labour flows to Hawai'i, Suriname and Tahiti in 1865, Van Reed also worked for multiple clients. He contracted 42 workers on behalf of a German planter, bound for the Spanish colony of Guam that same year.⁷⁶ Van Reed's conscriptions of what he termed 'Japanese Emigrants or Coolies' were a debacle.⁷⁷ Complaints by labourers at both sites of 'slavelike' condition led the Meiji government to demand their repatriation and to oppose further indentured emigration for the next two decades. Robert Walker Irwin, Hawaiian consul general and later Hawaiian minister resident in Tokyo from 1881 until the dissolution of the Hawaiian diplomatic corps, would pre-empt the initiation of significant waves of contract labour immigration to Hawai'i from 1885. An American by descent, Irwin was born in Denmark while his father was serving there as a US diplomat. Drawing on his brother's business connections, Irwin moved to Japan in 1866 as an agent for the Pacific Mail Steamship Company, for whom his predecessor Lillibridge also worked.

Irwin was deeply enmeshed with Japanese political networks, which played a crucial role in his successful negotiation of Japanese contract labour emigration to Hawai'i. One of his closest friends was Inoue Kaoru, a prominent figure in Japanese foreign affairs from the mid-1870s who was appointed Lord of Foreign Affairs in 1879, and served as Japan's first official Minister of Foreign Affairs from 1885 to 1887. In 1876, Irwin worked for the newly established Mitsui Bussan Kaisha (Mitsui Trading Company), founded by entrepreneur Masuda Takashi with Inoue's influential backing. Inoue and Irwin travelled in the same party on a world tour of the US and Europe later that same year. In 1882, Irwin married Tekechi Iki on arrangement by Inoue. Increasing goodwill borne from Hawaiian overtures to Asian-Pacific cooperation, in particular a novel racialised discourse of Hawaiian-Japanese racial 'consonance', combined with Irwin's powerful connections with Japanese elites led to the successful negotiation of a migration treaty in 1884 and a re-initiation of migration flows in early 1885.

Unlike other contexts, Japanese indentured emigration to Hawai'i was defined by a high degree of local governmental cooperation. Irwin directly managed recruitment efforts and the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs distributed promotional pamphlets prepared by him that year. In 1885, the first migrant ship arising from this mode brought 944 Japanese immigrants aboard the *City of Tokio*, owned by Irwin and Lillibridge's former employer, the Pacific Mail Steamship Company. Also aboard were Irwin; his wife and daughter; Nakamura Jirō, who became Japan's first consul to Hawai'i; and Nakayama Jōji, who later became inspector-in-chief of Japanese migrants for the Hawaiian Board of Immigration.⁷⁸ The migrant recruitment process was highly lucrative for Irwin, who received \$5 per male immigrant, in addition to other fees following the standard table for Hawaiian consuls. While the company history for Mitsui claimed that its business in Hawaiian immigration 'could hardly be called profitable', the company was involved with the migration process at multiple levels, from migrant recruitment to furnishing the provisions aboard the migrant ships. Additionally, it opened new markets for itself with the creation of a major Japanese population in Hawai'i, including food and medicine export. Mitsui also handled remittances.⁷⁹

The Kingdom-era state-sponsored consul indentured migration complex ended in 1894 with the establishment of the resident American-dominated Republic of Hawai'i, replaced by a more decentralised system of state oversight involving over fifty independent emigration companies. This system would remain in place after US annexation, facilitating the crossing of almost 125,000 Japanese people to Hawai'i from 1894 until the Gentlemen's Agreement of 1907

effectively terminated Japanese labour migration to the US.⁸⁰ While Japanese migration was the defining feature of immigration during the Republic period, overtures were made to promote white immigration on explicitly racist grounds. In addition to the mission to Portugal in 1894, an inquiry was also made by the Hawaiian Consul General at Rome of the possibility of immigration from Italy.⁸¹ Likewise, immediately after the overthrow of the monarchy, the ministry noted with thanks a report on possible immigration from the Canary Islands.⁸² However, extensive labour migration from Spain to the islands would not be carried out systematically until 1907, well after annexation and the refocus of labour flows away from Japan, to Europe, Korea, Puerto Rico and ultimately the Philippines.

5. Conclusion

Contract labour migration to the Hawaiian Islands in the late nineteenth century was a trans-national enterprise administered through a considerable degree of inter-imperial cooperation, by local consuls whose attachments to individual states were promiscuous. An intersection between consular duty and personal profit was present in all contexts featuring government sponsored indentured labour migration to Hawai'i during the last quarter of the nineteenth century, though the precise nature of this dynamic depended on site. In Japan, an American citizen received a general bounty per male head, first drawing upon his connections with the Japanese foreign minister to drum up political support for authorising sponsored migration flows and then carrying out the migrations through the assistance of a company of which they were both co-founders. In Micronesia, Hawaiian consuls were members of the dominant German trading company, who outfitted Hawai'i-bound labour ships before orchestrating German annexation of the islands in 1885. In the Atlantic, on the Portuguese islands of the Azores and Madeira, Hawaiian consuls were mainly British merchants during the first decade of the migration, with the first migrant ship for Hawai'i supplied by Hackfeld & Co., a major German firm based in Hawai'i. Subsequent ships were contracted through the personal enterprise of the future Hawaiian consul general in Britain. In Germany, Hackfeld & Co. had its own agents staffed as local Hawaiian consuls, and shipped indentured labourers to Hawai'i on government commission aboard its own Hawaiian-registered ships. In Norway, a Norwegian planter returned home from Hawai'i and likewise drew upon the services of Hackfeld & Co. Finally, in the case of China, which witnessed the first round of indentured labour migrants to Hawai'i in 1865, the local consul, connected with an ascendant British firm, directed a German physician in the employ of the Hawaiian government to liaison with a German priest who arranged contract labour to Tahiti and Suriname that same year, and who had recently conducted a survey for the British Government about Chinese emigration to British Guiana and Trinidad. The agents involved were cosmopolitan, though in the main of German and British, rather than American, origin.

The Hawaiian consular system persisted until 14 June 1900, two years after US annexation in 1898, when the 'Act to Provide a Government for the Territory of Hawai'i' took effect. As early as 1897, the ministry informed its consuls that 'annexation to the United States has been one of the fundamental principles of the present regime' and that, once this was secured, US officers would 'supersede the present Hawaiian representatives'.⁸³ After annexation, the Hawaiian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Ernest Augustus Mott-Smith, informed the acting Hawaiian Consular Agent at Hong Kong, William A. C. Cruickshank of Jardine, Matheson & Co. in late May that 'the functions of the Chinese Bureau of this government have been practically terminated and will be entirely so on the 14th day of June' and that the effects of old Hawaiian permits and birth certificates were now unclear, as the matter of Chinese immigration to Hawai'i was now subject to US exclusionary regulation.⁸⁴ After this date, the consular positions were abolished without any mechanism of reappointment with the US system.

The varying extent of consuls' commitment to a notion of Hawaiian sovereignty defined by Native Hawaiian cultural primacy was borne out after the white-led overthrow of the monarchy in 1893. There was little change in consular personnel besides the decommissioning of a few prominent supporters of the monarchy, namely Abraham Hoffnung at London, who advocated the restoration of the Queen as the best means of ensuring the 'peace, happiness, prosperity and independence' of 'this beautiful and interesting little Kingdom'.⁸⁵ However, in 1899, one year after US annexation, Hoffnung and his firm was back in charge of bringing labour migrants from Madeira to Hawai'i, with the British SS *Victoria* departing Funchal in July 1899 with 403 Madeiran emigrants aboard, in addition to more than 300 Spaniards from Vigo. The resident US Consul at Funchal, T.C. Jones, noted cursorily that 'the responsible man, a Mr. Hoffnung of London, did not sail on this ship, but remained in this city'.⁸⁶

While annexation marked the formal end of both the Hawaiian contract labour and consular systems, established migration networks remained in place, perpetuated under the purview of the Hawaiian Sugar Planter Association. Further, certain enterprising consuls found new options elsewhere beyond the Hawaiian labour-consular nexus. For instance, Belgian businessman James Moorkens, who had been appointed Hawaiian Vice Consul at Ensenada, Mexico in 1896 to facilitate guano exports, would later serve as Vice Consul for Uruguay, Colombia and Panama in Los Angeles during the first two decades of the twentieth century.⁸⁷ The Hawaiian consular system had permitted non-nationals to exert merchant-consular capacities that most major states were abolishing over the course of the nineteenth century. However, the particular constraints and needs of minor states across the world would see the survival of these modestly remunerative positions into the twentieth century.

Notes

1. Japan's Consul General in Hawai'i, Suburo Fujii, proposed an agreement to this effect on 18 January 1893, a day following the overthrow of the monarchy. The Provisional Government abandoned its rights to extraterritoriality on 10 April 1894, more than three months prior to the signing of the Anglo-Japanese Treaty of Commerce and Navigation. The Kingdom of Hawai'i had secured an unequal treaty with Japan in 1873, after the US, most European powers, China and Peru had done so from 1857 to 1871. Shih Shun Liu, *Extraterritoriality: Its Rise and Its Decline* (London: P.S. King & Son, 1925), Ch. V, Sec. 2, Footnote 44.
2. Previous studies have focused on US international history without considering Hawaiian consuls. For instance, F. Hilary Conroy, *The Japanese Frontier in Hawai'i, 1868–1898* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1953) extensively consulted the correspondence of US consuls with the Hawaiian government on the subject of Japanese immigration to Hawai'i, but largely ignored the large corpus of materials produced by Hawaiian consuls.
3. Kamanamaikalani Beamer, *No Mākou ka Mana: Liberating the Nation* (Honolulu: Kamehameha Publishing, 2014). Lorenz Gonschor, 'Ka Hoku o Osiania: Promoting the Hawaiian Kingdom as a Model for Political Transformation in Nineteenth-Century Oceania' in Sebastian Jobs and Gesa Mackenthun (eds), *Agents of Transculturation: Border-Crossers, Mediators, Go-Betweens* (Münster: Waxmann, 2013), 157–88.
4. Turan Kayaoğlu, *Legal Imperialism: Sovereignty and Extraterritoriality in Japan, the Ottoman Empire, and China* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 7–9. Lauren A. Benton, *Law and Colonial Cultures: Legal Regimes in World History, 1400–1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 215–18.
5. Ferry de Goey, *Consuls and the Institutions of Global Capitalism, 1783–1914* (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2014), 121.
6. Kate Boehme, Peter Mitchell and Alan Lester, 'Reforming Everywhere and All at Once: Transitioning to Free Labor across the British Empire, 1837–1838', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 60 (2018), 692.
7. Barry Rigby, 'The Origins of American Expansion in Hawai'i and Samoa, 1865–1900', *The International History Review*, 10 (1988), 227.
8. Donald Rowland, 'The United States and the Contract Labor Question in Hawai'i, 1862–1900', *Pacific Historical Review*, 2 (1933), 249–69.
9. Katharine Coman, 'The History of Contract Labor in the Hawaiian Islands', *Publications of the American Economic Association*, 3rd Series, 4 (1903), 1–61. Romanzo Adams, *Interracial Marriage in Hawai'i: A Study of the Mutually Conditioned Processes of Acculturation and Amalgamation* (New York: Macmillan, 1937). Ralph S. Kuykendall and Arthur Grove Day, *Hawai'i: A History, from Polynesian Kingdom to American State* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1961).

10. Ronald Takaki, *Pau Hana: Plantation Life and Labor in Hawai'i, 1835–1920* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1983); Edward D. Beechert, *Working in Hawai'i: A Labor History* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1985); Moon-Kie Jung, *Reworking Race: The Making of Hawai'i's Interracial Labor Movement* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006).
11. Noelani Arista, *The Kingdom and the Republic: Sovereign Hawai'i and the Early United States* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2018).
12. Sally Engle Merry, *Colonizing Hawai'i: The Cultural Power of Law* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000); Emily Conroy-Krutz, *Christian Imperialism: Converting the World in the Early American Republic* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2017). Also see Jane L. Silverman, 'Imposition of a Western Judicial System in the Hawaiian Monarchy', *Hawaiian Journal of History*, 16 (1982), 48–64.
13. Several of the millions of artefacts that perished at the fire of the National Museum of Brazil on 2 September 2018 were formally presented by Kamehameha II to the recently crowned Emperor Pedro I during his stopover in Rio de Janeiro en route to London.
14. Andrew Forest Muir, 'John Ricord', *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, 52 (1948), 49–59.
15. Hawai'i State Archives (H.S.A.), FO&Ex 14, Misc. Foreign, March 1857, Wyllie to Ricord, 3 Mar. 1857. H.S.A. FO&Ex 14, Misc. Foreign, March 1857, Ricord to Wyllie, 18 Mar. 1857. H.S.A. FO&Ex 14, Misc. Foreign, August 1857, Wyllie to Ricord, 25 Aug. 1857.
16. John Ricord, *Statute Laws of His Majesty Kamehameha III, King of the Hawaiian Islands, Passed by the Houses of Nobles and Representatives* (Honolulu: Government Press, 1846), Vol. 1, 7.
17. Ibid., 119–20.
18. *Reign of King Kamehameha IV: Appendix to the Report of the Minister of Foreign Relations, for 1855* (Honolulu, 1855), 149–50.
19. H.S.A., Interior, Box 14, 1865–1899, Walker & Allen to Hillebrand, 16 Mar. 1865.
20. Richard MacAllan, 'Sir George Simpson and the Mission for Hawaiian Independence, 1840–1843', *The Hawaiian Journal of History*, 20 (1986), 67–82.
21. Ralph Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom, Volume 2. 1854–1874* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1953), 39 and 55.
22. Ralph Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom, Volume 3. 1874–1893* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1967), 56 and 209.
23. Ferry de Goey, *Consuls and the Institutions of Global Capitalism, 1783–1914* (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2014), footnote 36.
24. Ernest Satow, *A Guide to Diplomatic Practice* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1932), §236.
25. Andrew Cobbing, 'Opening Legations: Japan's First Resident Minister and the Diplomatic Corps in Europe', *Diplomacy & Statecraft*, 28 (2017), 198.
26. Agnes Quigg, 'Kalākaua's Hawaiian Studies Abroad Program', *The Hawaiian Journal of History*, 22 (1988), 170–208. H.S.A., FO&Ex 417, box 2, vol. 5, Consuls and Hawaiian Youths Abroad, 1878–1885, fols. 32–70.
27. Cobbing, 'Opening Legations', 200.
28. *Memoria de relaciones exteriores y de colonización, presentada al congreso nacional en 1886* (Santiago: Imprenta Nacional, 1886), 141.
29. Rosemberg, Calmann and Pearson joined Thomas and 13 other consuls (mainly representing German states) in formally protesting the Spanish bombardment of Valparaíso on 1866.03.31. John Rodgers, *Bombardement de Valparaíso*, second edition (Paris: Imprimerie Vallée, 1866), 23–24.
30. William Edmundson, *A History of the British Presence in Chile: From Bloody Mary to Charles Darwin and the Decline of British Influence* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 187. René Millar Carvacho, *Políticas y teorías monetarias en Chile, 1810–1925* (Santiago: Universidad Gabriela Mistral, 1994), 148.
31. Thomas J. Hutchison, *Two Years in Peru, with Exploration of Its Antiquities* (London: S. Low, M. Low and Searle, 1873), 78–79.
32. William C. Martin, *Notice sur les îles Hawai* (Paris: Impr. et librairie administrative de Paul Dupont, 1867). Dominique Lejeune, *Les Sociétés de géographie en France et l'expansion coloniale au XIXe siècle* (Paris: Éditions Albin Michel SA, 1993).
33. Andrea Heuberger, *Rot-Weiss-Rot in der Regenbogennation: Geschichte und Geschichten österreichischer Auswanderer in Südafrika* (Vienna: Lit Verlag, 2012), 47.
34. Kuykendall, *Hawaiian Kingdom*, III, 265. Niklaus Schweizer, 'King Kalākaua: An International Perspective', *The Hawaiian Journal of History*, 25 (1991), 103–20; Sydney L. Laukea, *The Queen and I: A Story of Dispossession and Reconnections in Hawai'i* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011).
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